

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 04134 061810Z

46

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 NRC-05 ERDA-05

CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01

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NSC-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 /087 W

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3034

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T USNATO 4134

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: OPTION III: SPC WORK

REF: A) USNATO 3950 DTG 261258Z JUL 75

B) USNATO 3856 DTG 21120Z JUL 75

C)7 ,-59 4009 DTG 301705Z JUL 75

D) USNATO 4068 DTG 011800Z AUG 75

1. THE AUGUST 7 SPC MEETING ON MBFR WILL BE THE LAST PRIOR TO THE MID-AUGUST RECESS. THE SPC WILL NOT MEET THE WEEKS OF AUGUST 11 AND 18, AND MANY OF THE OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH MBFR IN THE DELEGATIONS WILL BE AWAY DURING THIS PERIOD. SPC WILL RESUME ITS MEETINGS ON OPTION III ON MONDAY, AUGUST 25. WE EXPECT THAT ALL OF THE CAPITALS WILL BE FULLY AT WORK AGAIN ON OPTION III BY SEPTEMBER 1.

2. SPC WILL HAVE FOUR WEEKS FROM AUGUST 25 TO COMPLETE DRAFTING ON
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 04134 061810Z

OPTION III PRIOR TO RESUMPTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA THE WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 22. THE FIRST NAC MEETING AFTER THE SUMMER RECESS WILL PROBABLY TAKE PLACE SEPTEMBER 3. WE INTEND TO ENCOURAGE SYG LUNS TO PROPOSE AT THAT MEETING THAT THE ALLIES

SET A DEADLINE OF SEPTEMBER 19 FOR NACE APPROVAL OF GUIDANCE TO AHG.

3. THE FRG HAS STATED PREVIOUSLY, AND RECENTLY REMINDED SPC, THAT FRG WISHES NAC APPROVAL NOT ONLY OF GUIDANCE AND SUPPLEMENT ON ALLIED POSITION, BUT ALSO OF A PAPER ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY, PRIOR TO AHG INTRODUCTION OF OPTION III INTO THE NEGOTIATION. FRG DELEGATION OFFICER (HOYNCK) HAS TOLD US THAT BONN IS NOT AT PRESENT WORKING ON A DRAFT TEXT ON NEGOTIATION STRATEGY. HE NOTED THAT BOTH ROTH AND RUTH ARE ON VACATION, AND THOUGHT THAT IF BONN DID DECIDE TO SUBMIT CONTRIBUTION TO SPC, IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE UNTIL EARLY SEPTEMBER. HOYNCK SAID HE UNDERSTANDS THAT BONN IS NOT INSISTING ON NAC APPROVAL OF THE PAPER ON PUBLIC RELATIONS ASPECT, I.E., THE FINAL PAPER BONN WISHES, PRIOR TO INTRODUCTION OF OPTION III IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, BONN WOULD WANT THIS PAPER READY AS SOON THEREAFTER AS POSSIBLE, IN VIEW OF POSSIBILITY OF EARLY LEAKS. HOYNCK SAID BONN WAS NOT WORKING ON THIS PAPER EITHER.

4. WE BELIEVE THAT US COULD HELP ACCELERATE POST-AUGUST 25 SPC WORK ON OPTION III BY DEVELOPING BRIEF DRAFT TEXTS ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY, AND ON PUBLIC RELATIONS ASPECTS. SPC SHOULD START ON THESE PAPERS, PARTICULARLY THE FORMER, EARLY IN SEPTEMBER, AND IN VIEW OF FRG DELEGATION OFFICER'S REMARKS, WE CANNOT EXPECT EARLY FRG CONTRIBUTION TO SET THE PROCESS IN MOTION. IN ANY EVENT, US SUBMISSIONS WILL HELP ORIENT THESE PAPERS TOWARD US VIEWS. IN ANY CASE, US VIEWS ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY ARE ALREADY SCATTERED THROUGHOUT DRAFT GUIDANCE AND SUPPLEMENT.

5. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE ANOTHER TRILATERAL, PERHAPS IN THE FIRST WEEK IN SEPTEMBER, TO HELP GIVE SPC DISCUSSION FINAL IMPETUS TOWARD APPROVAL OF GUIDANCE AND OTHER PAPERS BY SEPTEMBER 19. AMONG THE SUBJECTS FOR SUCH A US-UK-FRG MEETING COULD BE ANY DRAFTS THE US MIGHT HAVE ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS. OTHER SUBJECTS FOR TRILATERAL WOULD BE THE MAIN DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE EMERGED IN SECRET

PAGE 03 NATO 04134 061810Z

SPC DISCUSSION THUS FAR.

6. THE MOST DIFFICULT OF THESE DIFFERENCES IN OUR VIEW IS HOW TO DEFINE THE COMMON CEILING. THE ALLIES UNDERSTAND THE US ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE UK AND FRG POSITIONS, E.G. THAT THEY WOULD PREMATURELY RAISE ISSUES WITH WHICH ALLIES ARE NOT YET PREPARED TO DEAL, SUCH AS ALLOCATION OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS; HOWEVER, THE ALLIES APPEAR WILLING TO ACCEPT THAT RISK, SINCE THEY ARE CONVINCED OPTION III GIVES THE ALLIES THEIR BEST CHANCE TO GAIN THE KIND OF NUMERICAL COMMON CEILING THEY WANT. A TRILATERAL WOULD AFFORD US, UK AND FRG AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMPARE NOTES ON ANY DEVELOPMENT IN THEIR THINKING ON THIS ISSUE WHICH OCCURRED DURING THE SPC'S RECESS.

7. ON CEILING AND CONSTRAINTS, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES ARE MORE PRESENTATIONAL THAN SUBSTANTIVE, AND ALL THREE SHARE THE SAME GROUND VIS-A-VIS THE MINIMALIST BELGIAN POSITION. NEVERTHELESS, THE DRAFTING OF THIS PART OF THE GUIDANCE AND SUPPLEMENT WILL BE DIFFICULT, AND ANY FURTHER AGREEMENT AMONG US, UK AND FRG ON LANGUAGE WOULD FACILITATE THE SPC'S TASK. IN ADDITION, THE US WILL PROBABLY WANT TO CONSULT WITH UK AND FRG ON THE PARAGRAPH FOR THE SUPPLEMENT WHICH THE US AGREED TO DO AT THE JULY 18 TRILATERAL ON WHAT WE MEAN BY INCREASES IN SOVIET NUCLEAR ELEMENTS (AND NOW US TANKS) "IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO UNDERMINE THE BASIS OF THE AGREEMENT" (PARA 12, REF B). THE THREE COUNTRIES WILL PROBABLY ALSO WANT TO CONSULT ON UK IDEAS ON A FALLBACK POSITION RE ALLIED ARMAMENT LIMITATIONS (PARAS 15 AND 18, REF B). UK DELEGATION OFFICER (SINTON) INFORMS US THAT UK IS STILL EXAMINING ITS OWN IDEAS FOR THIS PAPER, AND DOES NOW KNOW WHEN IT WILL BE COMPLETED. RE BELGIAN POSITION ON CEILINGS, WE DO NOT BELIEVE BELGIUM WILL HOLD OUT AGAINST A CONSENSUS SHARED BY THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

8. ONE FINAL POINT WHICH DESERVES EARLY WASHINGTON ATTENTION IS AIR MANPOWER. THE ALLIES, EXCEPT FOR BELGIUM, AGREE IN PRINCIPLE ON A COMBINED GROUND/AIR COMMON CEILING, BUT WISH AT LEAST INTERNAL UNDERSTANDING ON AN APPROACH TO SERVICE SUB-CEILING WHICH WILL MAINTAIN THE FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES. IF THE SUB-CEILING ISSUE IS NOT RESOLVED BY THE TIME OPTION III IS READY FOR INTRODUCTION IN VIENNA, THEN THE ALLIES WILL BE
SECRET

PAGE 04 NATO 04134 061810Z

FACED WITH TWO UNDESIRABLE CHOICES: EITHER TO DELAY INTRODUCTION OF OPTION III UNTIL THE SUB-CEILING ISSUE IS SETTLED, SO THAT OPTION III AND THE COMBINED COMMON CEILING MAY BE INTRODUCED AT THE SAME TIME; OR TO GO AHEAD WITH OPTION III AND INTRODUCE THE COMBINED COMMON CEILING AT A LATER DATE. THE FIRST STEP TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE SUB-CEILING ISSUE COMPLETION OF THE MBFR WORKING GROUP REPORT ON MILITARY-TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE SUB-CEILING ISSUE (REFS C AND D). IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO RECEIVE WASHINGTON GUIDANCE ON THE DRAFT REPORT IN TIME FOR THE AUGUST 12 WG MEETING, WHICH WILL BE THE LAST WG MEETING IN AUGUST. THE SUB-CEILING ISSUE WILL COME UP AGAIN IN SPC WHEN THE WG REPORT IS FURTHER ALONG, FROM THE STANDPOINT OF WHAT THE AHG SHOULD INITIALLY TELL THE EAST ON SUB-CEILINGS, AND WHAT THE ALLIES SHOULD AGREE INTERNALLY ABOUT THEIR POSITION ON SUB-CEILINGS. ON THE LATTER POINT, AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY OBSERVED, THE ALLIES WILL NOT ACCEPT THE US PROPOSAL OF LIMITED FREEDOM TO MIX WITHOUT A FLEXIBILITY ALLOWANCE WHICH IS SMALL ENOUGH AND SPECIFIC ENOUGH TO MAINTAIN THE FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES.
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